

*Englands-Exchequer.*

OR  
A DISCOVRSE OF  
THE SEA AND NAVIGATION,  
with some things thereto coinci-  
dent concerning PLANTATIONS.

LIKEWISE  
Some particular Remonstrances, how  
a Sea-force might be profitably employed.

*Wherein by the way, is likewise set downe the  
great Commodities and Victories the Portugalls, Spa-  
niards, Dutch, and others, haue gotten by Nau-  
gation and Plantations, in the West-Indies,  
and else-where.*

Written as an incouragement to our English Nation to af-  
fect the like, who are better prouided then any of those.

---

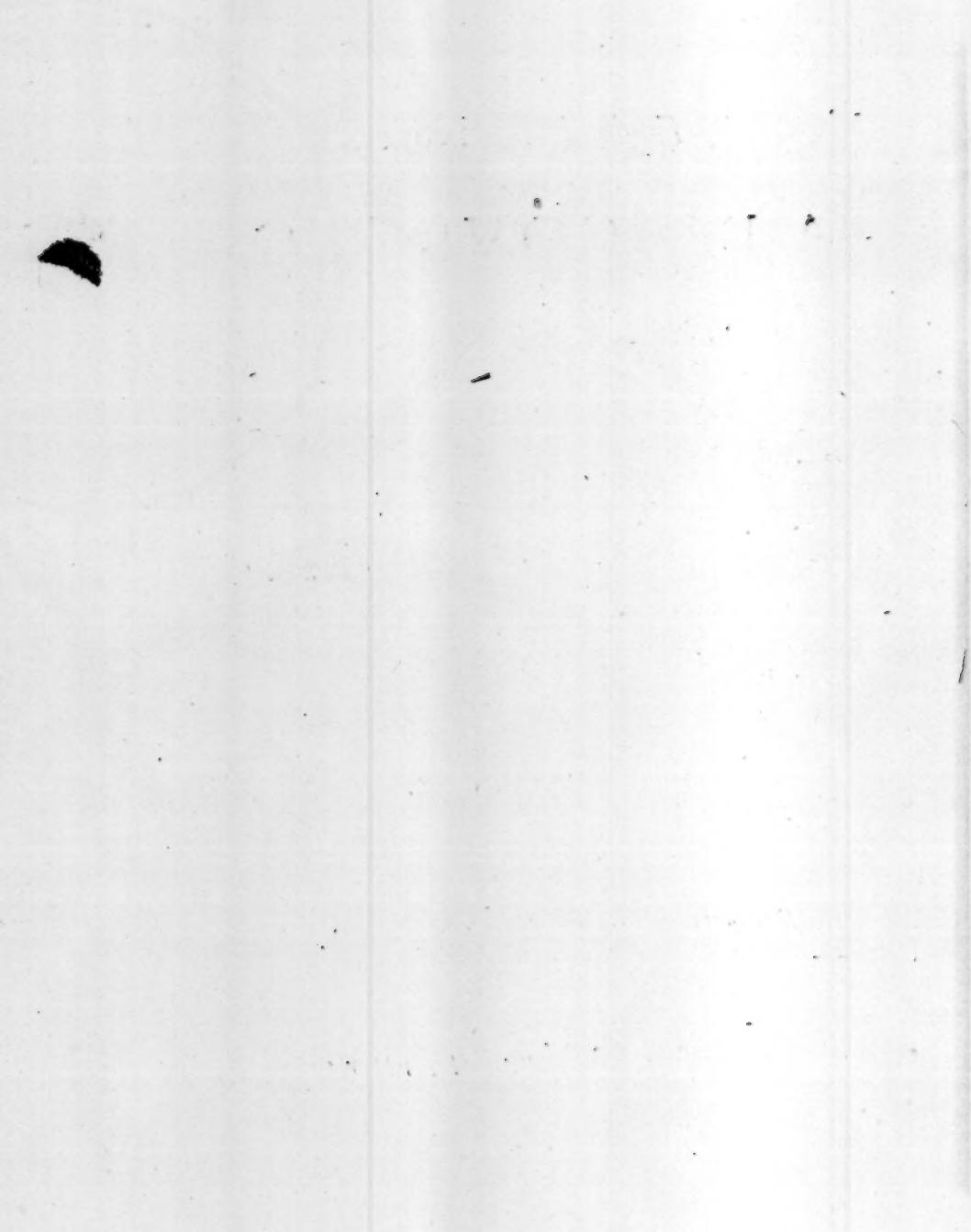
BY  
JOHN HAGTHORPE Gent.

---

*Quis Mare possidet, omnia possidet. Themistocles.*

---

LONDON,  
Printed for Nathaniel Butter, and  
Nicholas Bourne. 1625.



TO THE RIGHT HIGH  
and right mighty Prince, G E O R G E,  
Duke, Marquis and Earle of *Buckingham*, Earle of *Co-  
ntry*, Viscount *Villiers*, Baron of *Whaddon*, High Ad-  
mirall of *England and Ireland*, and of the Principallie of *Wales*,  
Gouvernour of all the Castles and Sea-forts, and of the Royall  
Nauie, Master of the Horse to his Maiestie, Lo: Warden, Chan-  
cellor, and Admirall of the *Cinque ports*, and the members ther-  
of, Constable of the castle of *Doner*, Justice in Eyre of all his Ma-  
iesties Forests, Parkes, and Chases on this side the Riuere of  
*Trent*, Constable of the Royal Castle of *Windfors*, Gentle-

man of the Kings Bed-chamber, Councellor of Estate of the  
kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, Knight  
of the most Noble Order of the Garter.



Hough it be true, (most Ex-  
cellent Prince,) that I may  
seeme to be iustly taxed of  
presumption, in offring this  
dimme tapor of my weake  
Observations, to the cleare  
Sunshine of your knowledge,  
especially considering how  
much it may be thought a-  
bove my ranck, my reach, &  
the strenght of my lowgrown

fortunes to meddle with the armes of *Hector*, or the shield  
of *Minerua*. Yet being of such a minde as more inclines to

## The Epistle.

action then to ease, I had rather be taxt of any thing then Ingratitude, or disaffection to my Country; which that person seemes guilty of, who thinkes bee hath something in him to doe it good, and yet for some sinister respects buries it with himselfe. Seneca teacheth vs, that every man stands bound to endeavour something for the common good. Hee which is lame of his hands, may yet shone on others with his shoulders; bee that can doe nothing else, must encourage with his voyce. The motiue that incited mee to the publishing of this Discourse of the Sea, leuellung therein at some Designes, wherein a Fleet and some Land-forces might be profitably employed, and likewise of putting my selfe into this course of the Sea. If I have errred in the former, I humbly craue pardon. My purpose was to have done well, and Justice consideres the intention as well as the action. Therefore I having no other Judge, need not feare the event: but referring it and my selfe to your Graces consideration, and sacring my best faculties to your Graces and my Countries seruice, I remayne

Your Graces

most humble

and devoted S. tuant,

JOHN HAGTHORPE.



# A DISCOVRSE O F *Nauigation and Plantation.*



HE Clouds being blowne away  
from our Britaine spheare, and a  
faire hope of cleare skye appea-  
ring, my Muse hauing with more  
paine then profit too long tra-  
uel'd the two-topt mountaine, is  
tempted in this stormie, and yet  
calme season of a Winter Spring,  
to put to Sea in hope of some better fortune. The Say-  
ler will here perchance looke out for some waxen con-  
ceits, to pumpe fresh water out of salt, in long voyages.

The curious will expec<sup>t</sup> to be satisfied, whether the  
Seas *Mortuum* and *Herbosum*, be such as indeed their  
names import; or these names, *Nigrum*, *Rubrum*, *Pa-  
cificum*, or *Glacieale*; onely imposed by accident. The  
gut-louing Glutton hungers to heare newes, of two  
hundred severall distaies from hence. The deepe diving  
Philosopher would as gladly vnderstand whether the

B

flux

*A Discourse of*

Aux and reflux thereof be *motus localis*, or *spiritus transversus summo in corpore*. But none of these is the subiect of my present Discourse. I would shew the benefit of the sea by reason of trading and commerce; and the happiness of this little Ile, disioyned from the rest of the world, yet united by commerce and Navigation.

Some vnhappy Nations in Affricke, which doe liue hembd in with lakes and mountaines, and haue nothing but some few Goats or Dates to relieue them, these cannot in reason imagine, that there are many more people in the world, then those they trade withall for salt, which is their condiment and Phyfick. The poore Towne of *Tassef* standing in the deserts three hundred miles from any fellow, cannot in reason thinke that there are so many townes in the world, as indeed there be kingdomeſ.

How happy then are wee, who through the benefit of this knowledge, and vſe of Nauigation, participate of each Countries good, and containe vnder one rooſe many times the haruests of each Pole, the sweetnesse and delight of every clymate? Were it not for this, how miserable ſhould many Nations be, who notwithstanding (Industry ſupplying Natures indigency) liue happily? What a cold kitchin would be kept in Holland, if they wanted the Sea? They want wood, yet abound in ſhipping; Corne, yet can ſpare to their neighbours. They haue but little vpon their coaſt of that abundance of made fish: briefly, of all other things they want nothing, hauing raised euuen from the aſhes of their ruined Country, a Common-wealthe like another

## *Nauigation, and Plantation.* 3

other Phoenix, farre more faire and glorious then the former : The sight whereof inuited mee sometime to this following Expression.

*Faire Holland hadst thou Englands chalky rocks,  
To gird thy warty waist; her bealthefull mountes,  
With tender grasse to feed thy nibbling flockes;  
Her pleasant groves, and Chrystalline cleare sonnes,  
Most happy shouldest thou be by iust accounts.  
That in thine age so fresh a yowth doft feele;  
Through flesh of Oke, and ribs of brasse and Steele.*

*But what hath prudent mo: her Nature held  
From thee, (that she might equall shares impart  
Unto her other sonnes) that's not compeld  
To be the guerdons of thy wit and art?  
And industry, that brings from every part  
Of every thing the fairest and the best,  
Like the Arabian bird to build thy nest?*

*Like the Arabian bird thy nest to build,  
With nimble wings thou flyest for Indian sweets,  
And incense which the Sabean forrests yeeld.  
And in thy nest the goods of each Pole meets.  
(Which thy foestope, shall serve thy funerall rites.)  
But thou more wise, secur'd by thy deepe skill,  
Dost build on waves, from fires more safe then hill.*

It is the same case with Spaine. If it were not for this, Lazarillo in stead of dressing his masters dinner, would goe neere to bee drest himselfe. What a lamentable

*A Discourse of*

miserable case were they in before they had the Indian Gold, of ours and other Nations.

Necessitie therefore the discoverer of new things, ledd forth these two Nations (as formerly shew did the Goths and Vandals their Ancestors) the one to the East, the other to the West, to seek out new adventures. For when they saw they could not liue any longer in their owne Country, for povertie and want, they sought to gaine that content at Sea, which the land could not afford them. Wherein their fortune proued so propitious, that they not onely held their owne, but got more then they could well haue hoped, from others.

The Portingalls gaining the mastery at Sea, overthrew the Fleets of the Kings of Calicut, with all his mighty preparations : and afterwards of *Campson*, the great Sultan of Egypt : and of *Selimus* the Turkish Emperour, who set out two Fleets from Swesse in the Red sea, purposelly to ruine them. Which if they had effected, their Country also had beeene in danger of perishing, there being left to them no meanes of safetie, but by vnburdening their barren (yet too fruitfull) mother of her too many Children, by the meanees of these new Discoueries and Colonies.

And for this their pouerty and hard liuing, I instance onely one example, though there bee many out of *Maffew* the Iesuite, who to shew the difference betwixt those Portingalls that conquered India, and those their not long after successors effeminated with the delicacies of India, giues this testimony ; That when *Campson* gaue his sea-forces (wherein there went

## Navigat[i]on, and Plantation. 5

went one thousand and fiftie hundred choyce Malma-  
lukes) were ouerthowne by Alainde and the Portin-  
galls, there was not found in so great an army so much  
linnen, as was needfull to binde vp *Nouueni* *Tasces*  
wounds, saing what with much adoe was got from  
the generall himselfe.

The words are these. *Quae in re dawities & frugalitas ejus etatis Lusitanorum*

*evidenter apparet, siquidem ad obligandum Non-*  
*ny voluntate, ades lineamenta defacere, ut in ipsisq[ue] & suis*  
*tunicis unum (leuis dictu res ceteras hancilquam ne-*  
*gligenda) Prator ipse protulerit, ut jam pene portenti su-  
mille videatur, ades masculam, nuper asperumq[ue] in armis  
genus ad tantos, tam brevis, dexteris vestium apparatu,  
conviviorum elegantiam, & exquisita & lata suppelle-  
tibus instrumenta. Sed nimurum qua soli libertas, &  
affluens copia rerum omnium ad Capnum Penos omnes, in  
Gracia, Syriaq[ue], Romanos emolit, eademo in Oriente per  
Indorum, Synarum, commercia varijs captes voluptas  
sum illucib[us], Lusitanos infregit. Ac primo panoplia  
contemptus, in mores eorum invectus, inde luxus, otio-  
sumq[ue], succisis industria, ac parsimonia nervis, prisca[m] se-  
veritatem, ac disciplinam labifactoris, ac selviti Maf-  
fenus, pag. 175.*

Yet were not the Spaniards the first that attempted  
in this kind. The Carthaginians sought out new Lande,  
so did the Romanes. Plutarch said in his Morals that  
the Grecians had a custome to send forth yearly some  
people to doe sacrifice to *Sasurne* in a Land westwards,  
many dayes saile beyond Britaine, which place he de-  
scribes in a great Bay, of the same heighth and latitude,

with *Mare meosū*. Some haue conceiu'd it to be New-found land : of vvhich they had some notice, and so peopled it.

But trade and merchandize, or the transport of new Colonies, doe not limit all the benefit, which the Sea affords vs. How often by the aduantage hereof haue weake and declining States, by politique diverting the warre from land to sea, broken and disappointed the malitious intendments of their aduersaries. For example, the Athenians, Spartans, and other free Cities of Greece, when they saw no hope to resist the innumerable army of *Xerxes* by land, (which *Herodotus* numbers to seven millions) they followed the counsell of the Oracle, and fled to their shippes, where encountring his Sea-forces neere the Ile of *Salamine*, they forced this mighty Monarch to flye for his life, with one onely ship, according to that of the Poet, *Qualis rediſ Salamyna relicta? Et paulo post. Nempe una nave.* Which gaue occasion shortly after, to the Macedonian Prince, to inuade those common enemies of Grecia, making slaues and seruants of those who thus attempted to cast their bonds of seruitude on free borne men and Cities.

It is likewise held by some, that *Augustus Cæsar* suspecting his strength at land, wherein *Anthony* seemed to haue the aduantage, sought for this cause, rather to try the matter by sea, where his fortune so preuailed, that he brake and ruined him at the Battell of *A&ium*.

The like befell of late to the vnited Princes of Christendome. For when the fortune of their preuailing enemy the Turk, was not any more in their iudgments

## *Nauigation, and Plantation.*

7

ments to be attempted by land, they sought to find out at Sea some way to better successe ; wherin their hopes deceived them not. For encoutring him at *Lepanto*, in the Bay of *Corinthe*, and there galling him, hee hath beene better minded to be quiet euer since, and rather lost then gotten. But to come something neerer the busynesse in hand.

The glory and souverainty at sea, hath at this day three Competitors, the English, Dutch, and Spanish Nations, betweene whom, though there were no open hostilitie, yet is there a politique secret warre, by striuing to vndermyne and beat each other, out of their trades ; which may not improperly be called a warre, for the deprivation and cutting off the trades of a kingdome, may be to some Prince more losse, if his revenues depend thereon, then the killing of armies. For he that hath coyne shal haue strangers to fight for him, but he that hath none though peraduenture he number many subiects, yet in his need hee shall finde but fewe souldiers.

These three hold the whole state of things as it were in ballance : and it seemes there is some inevitable destiny, that these differences should therein be decided. What number of seruiceable ships each of these may afford, comes not within the compasse of my poore experience, or iudgement : Hee that knowes their severall trades, may more neerly conjecture. The Spaniard hath many and great ships, but those so dispersed into severall and farre distant places of the East and West Indies, some comming, some going, some there, that it is impossible eyther vpon offensive or defensiuue occasion

occasion to doe much, without great prejudice; Both because vpon the neglect of these ploughs, there followes a famine of money, which is worse then that of bread, and that for want of subordinate trades neerhand in Europe, hee cannot without infinite losse (yet with extreame long preparation) be able to set out any great fleet, for lacke of men, being supplyed with Pickartownes, and men without skill, not hauing sufficient supplement of Seamen, for those that perish yearly in their long tedious voyages to the Indies, which makes them glad to imploy so many of ours and others as we see daily. Therefore this vast body thus exposed, seemeth more likely to build vp others greatnesse by her ruines, then to ruine others by her greatnesse.

The Hollanderes have many good Ships, good Ordinance, and store of men; but the state so exhausted with long warres, and the people so pincht with large Excises, that they seeme not able to doe much, if the willingness of their minds were not as a precious Balsame, to cure all diseases, and the wounds of fortune. Yet to them that must ever saile with a fore-winde, any great storme seemes dangerous, and eyther puts them to combustion or confusion.

The English are thought to have most serviceable ships, the best and hardiest men at sea: and it seemes that *England* should be most able of all the rest, because shee drives so many great trades neer-hand, and the King may presse both men and ships now at any time for any occasion: two hundred or three hundred Merchants, and Coliers, and the riuier of *Thames*, the Cole-trade, and other neer imployments, yeeld always men now

## *Nauigation, and Plantation.* 9

know, to supply both them and his Maiesties shippes, which without exception are the best, and brauest of the world.

These three in their long voyages to the East and West Indies, their new trades, new discoueries, and plantations, seeme to follow the Tyrians, and to follow the wisdome of *Solomon*, and *Hiram King of Tyre*, who sent out their men vpon a three years voyage to *Ophyr* for Gold and pretious things. And yet these three doe indeed nothing lesse, then imitate *Solomon*, for hee sought after these things for the building of the Temple: They pretend indeed the building of Gods house, by the propagation of Religion; But alas, how few are conuerted! It is the greater studie of their auarice, and ambition, to undermine, kil, and destroy each other; and for the Spaniards I am sure they bring not theirs to build, but to pull downe the Temple of God, and to set vp that of *Dagon*.

Any two of these vnited seeme strong, and the Hollanders alone most easie to bee dealt with, which the Spaniards well perceiving, and seeing the East Indies ready to bee wrung from them, and a company of Hawkes, which flye at all games, watching ever hard at their doores, haue cunninglie courted the King of *Englands* greatness for these many yeares, hoping to give these some deadly wound at land, or discomfiture at Sea, a couple of which they beleue shall breake them, and then they care not how soone they be vncasfed of their borrowed sanctitie, and appeare in their own wolvish likenes. For could they ever hope to have the like power in these narrow Seas as they haue long

C had

*A Discourse of*

had in the Ocean, then might they also hope, having broken the East Indie trade, and brought pepper to eight shillings the Pound againe, with the like prices to all other Indian commodities, by clearing all his own things, and depressing others (imposing what lawes of trade he pleased to his neighbours) to reduce some of them to that pouertie, that they should be his without fighting. And then how much kindnessse should there be showne to those of opposite religion? Not a man should liue that would not become the sonne of their blind and Idolatrous mother. What a Metamorphosis should there be in all trades! *France* should not vend her Wives, salt and other things, *England* her clothes, lead, and tinne, but as they listed. Nothing should be deare but figs, and Oliues, Sack and Oranges. And then if perchance halfe the people of *Holland* should out-liue their malice, and reuengefull crueltie, what vsage should they finde amongst these mercifull men? Surely not so good in all likelihood as the Flemmings, which haue made no such resistance, but beene euer their obsequious drudges, and yet these notwithstanding liue coopt vp in a cage, as it were, and are denied al trades to the East or West Indies, Turkey, or any other place almost, sauing *Spaine* it selfe, to serue their turnes for victuallers, and yet are opprest with almost as great Excises as the other, and intolerable garisons of enemies: which horrible mischieves, besidē the greatest of all other, the losse of religion, the Hollanders wisely and warily seeking to prevent, haue of late yeeres sought by all meanes to strengthen them-selues by Sea; and hauing in some twentie yeates togēther

## Navigation, and Plantation. II

ther with vs) almost spoyled his East Indie trade, they intend to doe as much, for his West, maintaining divers fleets to attend him at his owne cost and charges: for besides their attemptes vpon his plate fleet, the Bay of *Todos los Santos*, and other places in the North Sea, the fame goes they haue drawne an arrow at the fayrest marke they euer shot at, the Gold of *Baldinia*, and the Siluer of *Potosi*, from whence are brought thole rods, that scourge them, and others, which the Hollanders like great boyes wearie of long whipping, intend at length to wring from the hands of their too tyrannous Master.

For since the discouerie of that facile, and ready passage (by *La Mear*) to the south of *Magellanes* strait ( a passage not dreagt on in *Philip* the seconds time ) who else had not cast away so many men, ships, and money, in fortifying to prohibite a passage so desperate as *Magellanes*, where the North, and South seas, ebbing and flowing both together at one time, assault each other, with such terrible encounters, being hembede in within the narrow lists of those cloud-kissing mountaines, that it presents an obiect of affright, rather then delight, to the most hardie curious spectator.

Since which last discovery, it is reported ( but of this I affirme nothing for truth, because they bee things altogether doubtfull) that the Hollanders haue commerce with the valiant people of *Auances* ( a thing long since wisht by some ) and besides the returne of some wealth, they haue made a League with this inconquer'd Nation, which this three score yeares haue resisted, and repelled the Spanish seruitude; Having of late

almost beaten the *Spaniard* out of their Countrey, and taken from them the chiefe towne *Saint Iago de la Imperiada*. And for the accomplishing of their designe, and to plant a Colony, there went out this other yeare, from Holland, a fleet of eleven shippes with some two thousand land souldiers, labourers and planters, vnder the command of the Prince *de la Hermis*, being called the *Nassau* fleet, or the fleet of the vnknowne voyage, and some say they did second it this last yeare : perchance the next they may treble it; they haue reason so to do, for there is not a more likely way in the world to rid themselues, or at least to remoue further off, by diverting the warre from their owne into his Countrey (after the Romane policie) the malice and the mischiefe of their intendments. Hauing moreover these aduantages, a Country abounding with all necessaries, fullest of all others, of riches, (as from whence by report of best Authors, they receiuue two thirds of all the wealth of *America*) and blest aboue all other Clymes, with a most temperate ayre, to whose honest and necessarie designes for their Countries good and libertie, I wish all due prosperitie, and so leaue them.

And now I come at length to our selues to see whether *England* retaine still that ancient dignitie and renowne of her Ancestors at sea. It is reported by some Authors, that King *Edgar* had three severall Navies, wherwith they vsed to sayle once a yeare, round about this Island. And it appeares vpon record, in the Kings great Wardrobe in *London*, that King *Edward* the third had before *Callice* 1000 sayle of great shippes, wherof 700 English, wherin were sea-men, fourteen thousand one hundred

hundred & fiftyn. And that King *Henry* the sixth made (as it were) a bridge ouer sea into *France*, with 300 saile of great shippes, a thing to be admired, and wondred at, where, & how, all these were employed, there being then no Barbarie or Turkie Companies, no Greenland or Muscouie, no East Indie Companie, and the West long after vnknowne. It seemes therefore as credible as the former, that a great part of them were kept only for defence of the Iland, whose safetie (being without fortified Townes, and Pretorian bands) seemes chiefly to consist in such walls as these, and the soueraigntie of the sea.

And if wee looke backe into our Annalls, wee shall finde halfe a dozen examples, that shew vs with what handfuls of men this Kingdome hath beeene wonne for want of well keeping the sea. The last of them by King *Henry* the seventh, who landed but One thousand eight hundred men at *Milford* in *Wales*, and wrung this Kingdome from one of the most politicke and valiant Kings that euer reigned.

Therefore it seemes now as needfull as ever to seeke the encrease and augment of shipping, by reviving trades decayed, finding out new, and cherishing the Plantations. For if the strength and safetey of all lie in these, as it seemes all your Ancestours haue beleued, (who haue given allowance out of the Exchequer, vp-on the augment of tunnage) then by the neglect hereof (and the seas command lost) you lie exposed to the malice, and rage of such enemies, as are more boundlesse then the fire in their destruction of vs, of whose humanitie and gentlenesse, when wee fall into their

hands, wee may instance the late businesse of *Prague*, where the hangings, burnings, rapines, and other destruictions, committed vpon the poore Protestants both by sword and exile, cannot be easilly exprest : besides the ruine of the *Palatinate*, proscription of the *Palatine*, and as much as in them lyes, the vtter extirpation of their sweet innocent Children : whose restitution they haue vowed in their soules never to admit, how euer they professe the contrarie, tho herein they shew much more passion then prouidence, in not discerning how facile it is for the King of *England* to compell those that first vsurpt vpon it, to restore it againe, when they haue first repaired their owne ruines.

But to retурne to the Sea ; It doth not appearre for the reasons forealleged, that *England* is lesse powerfull at Sea then it hath beene in former ages, because in those dayes they had none of those forenamed Companies which at this time (counting those to the West Indies) may perchance employ neare vpon two hundred saile of seruiceable shippes, besides those for *France*, *Spaine*, *Germanie*, and the East Land, besides two hundred saile of seruiceable Colliers. It seemes by the Merchants accounts, that there belongs to this Iland one thousand saile of seruiceable shippes : yet it seemes it would bee hard to bring the third part of these to any present seruice, without great molestaition, and preuidice to priuate men. Therefore these numbers still to bee encrafft, by all meanes, by discouering of new trades, and sending forth new Colonies, into new Countries, rather then to bee diminished  
any

any way by cutting off the old, a thing which Time hath done to the *Barbary Companie*, Negligence to the *Muscovie*, and which Ignorance desires to doe to the East Indie, tho this last seemes many wayes, both a benefit, strength and dignitie to the Countrey.

1 By working the Spanyards out of their trades, from whose wealth, and greatnessse, we can expect nothing but mischiefe, whether we consider their maxims of policie, or religion.

2 By making the name and power of our Nation knowne even to the most remote Kingdome, and Nations, by which meanes there may bee hope of settling true Religion amongst them.

3 By employing and ridding hence numbers of idle men, that for want of imployment here at home, would else miserably perish, which by this course many times repaire their decayed estates, and live afterwards happilie.

4 By setting awarde innumerable handicrafts; and labourers, whose children might otherwise sterue and beg in the streets.

5 The encrease of his Maiesties Customes.

6 The strength, beautie and ornament of so many braue ships.

The least of all which, were a motiue of sufficient power to keepe it a foot; therefore those that seeke to break it, are either ignorant of some particulars, or disaffected. Their maine obiectiōn is, the exhaustion of money: and against this the Merchants defences seeme very pregnante, who make it appeare, that there went out of this Land, in money, almost one third part more,

## A Discourse of

more, to bring in these commodities ouer land by the way of Alexandria, and Venice, then now there doth. Therefore I follow their iudgement that desire the perpetuation of it, the inconueniences being preuented by restraint of moneyes transported to a fitter proportion, and the abatement supplyed in other commodities.

A strange disgust it hath gor, and bad opinion in the Countrey, by reason of the transport of moneyes, and the present want thereof, every man thinking the East Indie men, the *Tafons*, that haue stolne away this witch *Medea*.

But if your patience would give leaue, wee might finde a truer cause of this mischiefe. Let vs looke back into the parcimonie, and frugalitie vsed by our Ancestors, in matter of habit and apparell.

The Chronicles make mention of some Kings in this behalfe, as of King *William Rufus*, a Prince reputed in those times rather prodigall then niggardly, yet the storie sayes hee was offended with one of his groomes, for bringing a paire of hose so low prized, as three shillings, charging him to bring a paire that should cost a Marke in siluer, but the Groome returned him a paire that cost something lesse then the former, affirming, that they cost a Marke; and these vpon those termes were by the King well accepted. Now if we say, that rich dyes, and curious fine cloth, were not known in those dayes, we deceiue our selues:you may read in *Plinie*, and many good Authors, purple & scarlet wooll, at so many festerces the pound, and that cloth should bee refined or bettered, that's *coijus contrarium*.

I haue

I haue scene some olde Grandams Peticoate, much better than ever I could see since. There is also a pece of olde ballat-stuffe of King *Henry*, the thing seemes not altogether without foundation, though I purposely omit it as a thing not worthy here to be remembred; Tis like, that good Souldiership was in request many yeares before *Henry* the sevenths time, but prodigalitie and excesse in apparell, not much before *Henry* the eight: It appeares by some monuments in the Towre, that Prince *Arthur*, and *Henry* afterwards (the eight) wore doublers with fatten fore-parts, but with fustian backes, yet were these thought worthy to be after worne, by some of the greatest Lords children in the land. But now the times are changed, not a Foot-man, but would very much scorne to weare his after that manner. There be Coblers daughters in this Cittie, which goe in their silke gownes. I haue hearde an olde Gentleman of great honestie and credit (many yeares agoe) report, that he had scene the Duke of *Norfolke*, or one of the greatest Dukes or Lords of this land, vsually habited in a blacke freeze Jerkin; a right worthie and noble Prince, who fed and maintained daily many hundreds of people: No doubt but he wore sometimes, richer apparell: but that there went out of this land, in those dayes 2. or 3000. pounds per annum for one colloure, (a thing that keepes no man the warmer) or the value of 2. or 3. millions for cloth of gold, tissewe, siluer, gold lace, veluets, plushes, damaskes, fattins, silkes, I beleue it not. It seemes therefore, the likeliest of the two, that this want and scarcitie growes from the decaye of home trades, clothing and exported commodities, these being ouer-ballanc'd farre, by the commodities imported, and then the priuate rule holds good for the publique.

*Quis plus expendit quam rerum copia tendit.*

D

Non

*Non admiretur, si paupertate gravauerit.*

And whether this be so or not, I referre my selfe to those that haue better cause to knowe the truth thereof then I. But sure I thinke your wise Ancestors knewe very well what they did when they ordained these penall Lawes against the weare of cloth of siluer, tissue, laces, and silkis, by the meaner sorte; for if these good and most necessarie Lawes were executed, then shold 30000. of the Kings people, which now liue vpon the charitis and benesolence of others, liue well and merrily, without burthening the Commonaweale, through want of imployment, whiles 200. thousand *Arabians*, and *Persians*, *Turkes*, *Genoways*, *Spaniards*, *Neapolitanes*, and *Sicilians*, are maintained meereley by the breache of these Statutes, by supplying our luxurie and pride in apparell. A case of conscience not to be neglected by those that haue any, that our pride shold set so many thousands *Turkes*, infidels and heretickes at worke, whilstrour brethren here at home, perish for want of imployment; especially seeing God and nature haue denyed vs these things, and supplyed vs with others, more proper to our Country and our selues, there being things of necessary vse, and ornament, those onely for ornament and ostentation. For I doe not see how a man can keepe himselfe so well from Winters colde, with a horse loade of silke, as with 3. yeardes of broadecloth, of three times that seruice. If our Country did affarde them, it were fit it shold spende them; otherwile it were good to imitate the prouidence of the French, who weare nothing so superfluous in silkes, till within this 40. yeares that they got the silke-worme to bee a denizen of their Countrie, as may appeare by the Spanish scoffes at some of the French-mens pouertie of apparell, at the enteruewe of some of their Kings, recorded in their Histories.

There

There be good remedies ordained by the Lawes, and it were to bee wisht they were executed, since otherwise they be but like your Spanish executions in picture, where the offendour commonly laughs most at his owne punishment.

These times of ours seeme to bee sicke of two contrarie diseases, Pride and Pouertie, as much discrepant in Nature and in cause, as your *Hectique* and *Anasarka*, which are not founde dwelling together in one subiect; but in this they agree, that they are cured with contraries.

We see some prouident Nations, descend in their prouidence so lowe, as to the abridgement of cloth in bands, as appeares by the King of Spaines Edicte last yeare. The Knights in old time were wont to bequeath their velvet jackets by will to their posteritie; why should it then bee suffered, that every Seruving-man and mechaigue should weare his cloake lyned with velvet? that every Tapster and Trype-wife should goe dawbd with golde and siluer lace, in satins and silkes. But heres some whom it least, (and yet most) concernes, will obiect that it is for the dignitie, and honour of the Kingdome, that the people goe braue: But those olde Lawe-makers, thought it was more for the dignitie of the King, & safetie of the Kingdome, to haue subiects rather rich then gallant: for when they haue mony in their purses, the King may haue a share vpon needfull occasion; but where nothing is to be had, the King loseth his right.

By these wayes without question there goes out of this land in mony, and valemable commodities, 2. or 3. millions yearly: to speake nothing of smoake, and other toyes as bad, which doe more harme then the mony that goes to the Indies; which excesse being spared but for one 20. yeare, would make this Kingdome happie in her selfe, and dreadfull to her neighbours.

It leemes therefore more consonant to the present necessitie of the time, to Reason, and Religion, to continue rather then cut off the East-indian trade, as a thing not guiltie of these false aspertions; and to augment rather then diminish the same, by adding the transport of silks from *Persia*, by the *Arabian* or *Persian* Gulphe, it being much more faie to haue them from a freendlie generous Nation that louevs, (and of whom there is tenne tynes more hope for matters of Religion) then to haue them by trade from the *Turkes*, who are but their Factors; and who by trading with vs, may by little and little, gaine the art of Nauigation, to the great mischiefe of Christendome, as at this present they begin (to the great dihonour of our King and Country) by conniuing and wincking at their nests of Pyrats, daily desperdating, and captiuing our Countrie-men.

That vnspeakable excellent Queene *Elizabeth*, worthie of eternall memorie, would not haue sent her Agent Master *Antony Jenkinson*, so often to *John Basiliouche* Emperour of *Russia*, and to the King of *Persia* about this trade, to haue beeene driuen by so difficult and costly a way, as first round about *Norway*, to the Bay of *St. Nicholas* and *Colmogroe*, then from thence vp the Riuere *Driaze*, then to be drawne ouer land vpon sledges so many hundredth verses, from thence shipt downe the Riuere *Vogar*, 1000 myles, then through the *Caspian* Sea 600. myles, then ouer land to *Tauris*, in *Media*, and so backe againe by the like retурne, if there had not beeene some weightie reasons, both of policie and profit, against the then vnsettled trade with *Turke*.

Therefore for these motiues above laid, with many others of no lesse consequence vnalledged; it seemes not onely profitable, but right necessary to continue the East-Indian trade, & if it be possible to settle also a West-Indian as the Hollanders haue begunne: who hauing gotten the  
start

part of vs, in chusing a Country, full, and abounding in all things; Golde, Silver, Cartell, Catties builded to their hands, and a people tractable to their desygnes, haue imposed vpon vs a meere necessity of doing something in the same kinde; Least while we venture our Nobility and Gentry, in courses of great hazard to defend their Liberrye, where we get nothing but knockes, and sometimes loote a man worth halfe a Nation; we suffer them in the meane time to inuest themselves with the wealth and glorie of these happy Countries, Brasile, Chylia, and Persia; and seauen yeare after, when it is too late, repeat it; For what cause can bee so likely as this, to preuent the nimble dexterity of friends? Or to revenge and frustrate the iniurie and malice of our Aduersaries? I speake not this of any Country Possessit by the Spaniard, for so I might offend; There are other places now: but this is certaine, that so long as they enjoy these Exchequers of West-Indian wealth and treasure, they will never forgoe their opinion, and ambitious chyfes, to oversetall Somerayre, which decayes all Peace and Securitie to this Common-wealth.

And this it semes, that Angell Queene in her deepe thoughts had designed, by the often attempts vpon his Islands, For if it bee true ( as was sometimes spoken of Seychelle, in respect of Rame) that the Fesseras are the Storehouse of Spaine, from whence it receives a great portion of relief; it followes that by cutting off this yearly provision, with the like supply of Corne, which comes by the meane of Hamburgers, & Easterlings, through the Sound, (as also their Masts, Cordage, Pitch and Tarre) they may by a spare dyet, be quickly cured of ambitious madnes, and live quietly with their Neighbours. The Possession of these Islands mainly concerns them, in that they be their best bayting place of their meanly-victualled Fleets from the In-

dies ; by the want of whose supplyment and relief , they should haue suffered sometimes mainly .

Much more without doubt , if that most excellent Queene could haue added vnto these but one other lland , or rather one Towne thereof , the rendeuowe of all his West-Indian Fleets : A place indeed , more easily wished then gotten , having a Castle cut out of the rock in some 60. yeares time , with some 40. Cannon & Culuerin thereupon mounted ; a Fort ouer against it with halfe as many , and the wall of the town flanking the bosoms of the haie , with some 60. more speciall Ordinance : This place being on the hinder side , partly inaccessible , by reason of a Wood 4. mile long , full of sharpe Bryers and Thornes ( nourisht for this purpose ) of which none is to be cut , vnder too deare a penaltie .

The description of this place (which I thus received from both honest and vnderstanding men , that lived many yeares in those Countreyes) carries no small representation of difficultie and danger : but who knowes not that all actions of Dignitie , and Honour , haue these as Companions inseperable ? *Labor omnis vincit , et audaces fortuna iuvat.*

These two places seeme of so great importance , for many reasons , here too long to name ; that some men thinke he could not continue his trades without them : which if any man deny , I demand why are they fortified and guarded more then the rest ? Men doe not make great Keyes and Lockes for emptie Chests ; but for those which keepe their Treasure :

This place was aymed at in the Queenes time . It is exceeding rich , by reason of the concourse of shipping : For at this Port meete all their severall Fleetes , 20. Sayle from the Bay of Mexico , whereof perhaps ten carry Siluer ( knowne from

from the rest by their Flags vpon their misse) 6. or 8. from the Haudores, so many from Dariena, Cartagena, Nombre de Deos, Fernambucke, the chiefe Citie of Olinda, the Bay of Todos los Santos, Lago de Iauero, and the Riuers of Plate. All which vnlaide vnder the Castle of the Hanana, where the Kings Officers take the accounts of all, summing vp each by himselfe. So much in Ryalls; and Quintalls of Golde and Silver; so much in Brasse and Camptesie Wood; so much Silke, Indico, Muske, Sugar, Cutcheneale; so many Chests of Precious things; so many thousand Ozechides: All which are bestowed in his Fleete that comes yearely from Spaine, to fetch them, and the Cargazone of euery ship registered there, and sent home by the same.

And it seemes as if Nature had ordained this place for such a purpose; there being not in all those Islands so conuenient a Hauen, to rallie their dispersed Fleetes together, which set forth at severall times (as winde, and occasion serues) from severall places, and which returning single ouer the Ocean, should haue beene exposed to many dangers, both of Pyrats and other Enemies. Portrico and Dominica, are too much in the winde Eastward for this purpose; for those that come from Trujillo, Nombre de Deos, or Dariena, can hardly wester (both against winde and current) these Islands of Hispaniola and St. Iohn, much lesse those that come from Iuatan and the Bay of Mexico; who must necessarily goe in the windes eye, and the set of the Current (a thing almost impossible) for the windes between the Tropickes is all Easterly, and the Current in this place sets also the same way, running along vpon the boosome of the Land, by Florida, Verginea, and so Northwards: The true caule and reaon why West-India Fleete goe one way, and returne another: For in going thence they passe the Canaries, to meeke with the easterly windes, and

windeis betweene the Tropicques) there perpetually constant, carrying them certaintly thither in xx. or xxx. dayes, a 1000. leagues ouer the Ocean, and falling in through the Antilla Ilandes ; but returning , they fall Northward with the current , and Disembogue betweene the Cape of Florida and Cuba : from thence , betweene Virginiae and Bermudas , to a certaing Northerly Latitude , where they meeet with North-west windes , that bring them backe for Europe againe.

Me thinkes the relation of these happy Countryes, their wealth and abundance, shoule enflame all noble, and religious minds to wish (at least, if not to endeour ) the release of such a poore miserable people, that lyg groueling vnder the darke mistis of Ignorance, and Idolatrie , and comfort and relieve of our owne , groaning vnder the heauy burthen of aduersity and penurie : Especially the nature and condition of the English considered, who had rather fight once a weeke, to liue at ease by the sweate of others, then to sweate thrice a weeke to liue well by the labour of themselves ; which make me wish them store of such imployement, as best suites their conditions.

In these Countryes, there may be many places fit for setting new Collonies ; where there bee rich Townes and Cittyes built to their hand ; little resistance ; a people to bid them welcome, and the reward of every mans valour lying before him. And what (then such a working) can be more glorious ? What more honest, then to give imployement to the innumerable people of this Land ? who through want of meane s to set their industrie a worke, goe beggynge vp and downe the Countryes of this Land, in most shamefull manner ; many of them perishing for want of succour, in the Ditches and High-waines ; nay in the streectes of this honourable Cittie : A thing too often seene, though not knowne,

knowne, nor seene amongst those people, where Nature onely playes the Steepdame ; whereas to this Cittie and Kingdome, she hath shewne her selfe a most indulgent Mother, pouring out her benefits in such abundance , that I stand astonisht and amazed when I beholde them.

It seemes therefore expedient in this case to imitate the Physition, who to a plethorick body will gine vent, and euacuation, to prevent eyther a depravation , or a concitacion of the humours : Which of late hath bin attempted, by plantation in *Virginea* , but continued by fo vnhappy courses, in the oppretions and extactions vpon the Planters, by the vndeconionable sale of all necessaries to the Planters; that some thinke it had bin as good vnbegun, as continued in such a manner , to so little purpose. It seems rather a worke for the Prince and Common-wealthe, then for private men : amongst whom , though there bee some honorable mindes, and well affected ; yet a great part, if not the greater, leuell at their owne private and present benefit ; not having the patience, to expet the rewards of Pietie and charitable actions, after so long a retурne. And the New *Englan* busines (though now hopefull) in respect of the Ayres healthfulness, fertility of the Soile, and abundant plenties of the Sea : Yet if it be continued in the same manner, promises no better successe : which were it made a publique action of the whole Common-wealthe (as the West-Indies was by the Kings of *Arago*n and *Spaine*) there might from thence accrue a great deale of honour , profit, and assistance to his Maiestie, and these Kingdomes. It is beleueed by the best judgements that haue bin there, that this Coast hath as much fish as *Newfound Land* , or as any place of the world; sufficient for a fleet of 3. or 400 saile. There be now some 50. Sayle that vse it , and by report, make the best returns of any other Trade whatsoeuer; the

shortnesse and safetie of the course considered. Neuerthelesse, the Plantation receives by them no benefit, they bearing of all others the most backward to the good and advancement of that busynesse.

Surely if the benefit, necessitie, and pietie of this action were imparted to the people, and by them vnderstood, they would contribute largely to a stocke of 1. or 300000. pounds for the same.

For such a summe would furnish out 200. sayle of good shippes of 300. tunne a peece, with munition and Ordinance fitting, the benefit redounding from them would be these.

1. The propagation of Religion, that the Papists may no longer triumphe ouer ours in this respect.

2. The strength and ornament of so many braue shippes, which without any prejudice to priuate men, might alwayes loose a yeare vpon any iust occasion for the Kings seruice, without exhausting the Kings treasure, or burthening of the subiect, the charge being deducted out of the increment and profit of their former returns.

3. The vnburthening this our fruitfull mother of her many, many children, by transporting yeately thereth ten thousand poore people, besides voluntaries, of whom it is very like there would goe forth at their owne charge very many yearly, after these had made an entrance to the busynesse; which how great a benefit it might produce in 20. or 30. yeares, by vnburthening this land, of a million of poore people, whose labour, and imployment there, might bring as much profit to this Common-wealthe, as heres their idlenesse doth prejudice, I submit to each iudicious censure. And for the infallibilitie of this designe, if it could be drawne to action, there needs no doubt to bee made, so it had fitting Officers to direct it, that were free from auarice.

But

But here the maine objection would be, how should so great a summe be leuyed? it would be very grievous and burthensome to the people: At this time it cannot be deuyed but it would: yet in some fit opportunitie, a subside and fisckeene would doe it. Or else it might be drawne even from the superfluitie of some one thing (if it were not too much disparagement for *England* to be as wise as Spaine) even from our very Ruffes. I beleue there be 5. or 600. thousand Gentlemen, Citizens, and Yeomen, in the Kings Dominions, which doe weare two of these Ruffes yearly; (a forraine commoditie therefore to bee restrained) the charge of which, one with another, cannot amount to lesse then tenne shillings the peece. Now if euery such person which hath beeene knowne to weare such Ruffes, should contribute the price of one of them, towards this so glorious, so pious, and so necessarie a worke, It would bring in a greater summe then is formerly named. Or since it is true, that the weare of Ruffes and Bands, was not in vsca 100. yeares agoe, and that many as noble Nations as wee (the Polonians and Hungarians haue not yet receiued the fashion) the excesse of such Ruffes might be better spared, being prohibited to the meaner sort (after Spaines example) to weare onely Falling-bands, for one yeare onely. And if any man obiect to this, that it were disparagement or disgrace, I pitie him: there being so many presidents (both antient and moderne) of farre stranger things. It is not like mony extracted from the iwear of Laborers and hirelings; nor like the excises of some Countries, which extreamely pinche the bellies of the poore: there is no subiect would be for this either colde or hungry, but many the warmer and the better fed, so farre from any iust imputation of disgrace, that I dare bee boulde to affirme, it would berauer to posteritie a monument of eternall honour.

If the priece for Innes and Ale-houses had beeene leuell at such a purpose, for the good of the Countrie, it might in reason haue hoped for some better event. For it seemes proportionable to equitie and iustice, what these Ale-houses which stand euer-open like Hell, to swallowe the imprudent (the priue cause of the ruine and beggerie of so many) should be compel'd to expiate their sinne, with some fit contribution, to the aduancement of some charitable worke: If there were as great an excise vpon them, as there is in Holland (so it were imployed as well, in fortifications and Armies, still ready for the Countries seruice and defence) I beleue this Kingdome should receive no prejudice thereby, but benefit. Some Countries, consume their wine, and salte, some their victualles, others their bread and beere. Now the Beere and Ale of *England*, are their wines: It would not be any disparagement to those that should receive it, or prejudice to them that should pay it. It would onely strike the excesse of this vice, and make the wife better husbands.

But I must returne to Plantations; where if any man obiect, that my discourse is more at Land then at Sea, which I first propounded: To this I answeare, that wee cannot attaine at any of these places, but by Sea; and if a man should frame a Discourse of Nauigation onely confined to the Sea, it must be fishing. But if it concernes trading or Plantation, it must needs haue relation to some Land. Therefore I make boulde to adde some thing concerning these Plantations according to my poore talent, hauing onely the contemplatiue of these things.

For *Virginia*, it is no question a Countrie that might bee made happy, by a wise and industrious people, being in resemblance, and scituacion most like *Chynae*, if you take in *Florida* thereto, in the same paralels, full of Rivers, and vpon

upon the Eastland South-east, ambiented by the Ocean, bne  
with this aduantage, that all the commodities of 3000.  
mile circumference may be drawne by the benefit of the  
Riuers and the Bay, to one center. A Countrie, that ( after  
the ranckenesse of the soyle and ayre were corrected) might  
be capable of wine, of oyle, of filkes and the best things;  
but it will be longer first then some imagine, being subiect  
many times to an impure, and corrupted ayre, by reason of  
some shadie woodes that keepe it imprisyon'd so, that  
through want of ventilation and motion, and the Sunnes  
beamcs to purifie it, by a attenuuation, receiuing into it a  
damp't corrupted vapour, from the rotten leaues and her-  
bage, it becomes lesse safe and salutiferous, then other cul-  
tivated Countries, both to tender plants and men: yet  
am I not ignorant, that there are many of those, who haue  
beene there that deny all this, affirming that no place hath  
a more pleasant ayre then *Virginia*, and that they are not  
sensible of any such matter: which may also be true, and  
so may that same ayre seeme fresh and pleasant to the sens-  
es; wherein we drawe the Pestilence, or that which causes  
soone after extreame sickenesse, and casting; at the high  
mountaine *Periacasces*, in the West-Indies, or that which causes  
death or mortification of some parts, in some pas-  
sages of *Pern*: we must not trust our fences, for the destruc-  
tion of this Golgotha cannot come from a more likely  
cause: and these inconueniences seeme not cureble till  
there be many thousands felled in the Countrie, that may  
cut downe the thicker parts of the woods ( as they doe  
in *Aussia* and *Poland*) and laying them on heapes, two or  
three yeares after burne them. This refines the grosser part  
of the ayre by attenuuation, makes more free scope for the  
windes, and the salt of their ashes, taking away the rankenesse  
and queasinessse of the earth, makes it truly fertill and

Solid, which otherwise (like a luxurious wombe) casts oft  
many times, but an abortive fruite.

This the Spaniards haue done in many places, and as it  
seemes, in the *Maderas* vpon the like occasion ; where  
hauing cut downe, and burnt all the Woods, which seemed  
before to cloath the llands, there followed for many yeares  
after, such plenty of corne, as is hardly credible to be spoken.

*Virginia* is no doubt a good Countrie, and is , or may  
be capable of the best thinges. There is (it seemes) in their  
seasons, plente of Fowle and Fish, Deare, and other things  
in the Woods : Though our men by their manner of  
Planting and Setling , haue deprived themselues of the  
greatest benefit thereof. For being so farre dispersed  
(through a covetous ambition to engrosse large portions  
of Land) on eyther side of the Riuier, some 150. miles, their  
forces so disunited are but weake, and their backes lyes o-  
uer open, and exposed to their treacherous Enemies : so  
that they cannot goe to hunt in the Woods, nor trauell in  
safety, but with greater numbers, then without the negle&t  
of necessarie affaires, can well be spared. Whereas, if they  
had settled themselues, some of them in *Pamounkies* Riuier,  
they might haue liued secure frō the Saluages , there being  
but 8. mile at the head, betwixt it and *James* Riuier, as in an I-  
land, Which had bin indeed a course of farre more safety,  
then at first to settle vpon the maine. The Portugals haue  
obserued it as a rule, it seemes, who in the East-Indies first  
settled themselues in the llands of *Chawle*, *Dim*, *Goo*, *Ormanz*,  
*Ceylon* in the *Moluccas*, and *Malillaes*, and there built their  
Forts and Castles. In the West-Indies, they first fortified  
themselues in *Hispansola*, in *Cuba*, and *Jamaika*, before they  
set vpon the maine of *New Spaine*, and *Darsena*. In *Sancta*  
*Crewx*, and *Trinidad*; before they attempted *Goyana* : and  
the like in other places : which without question is the sa-  
fet

felt course, since by this means, they be alwaies sure of a safe retreate in time of need. For if a iudicious Enemie will be loath to venture vpon a place, whose strength he knowes not; much more a rude, barbarous, and vnarmed Saluage. And that this reason is infallible, it appeares in the example of that one Gentleman, spoken of in *Virginea's* massacre, who houlding no correspondency or commerse with the Saluage, escaped free and vtoucht, in that common calamitie of his Neighbours, because the Saluages did not know his house as they did the rest; neyther the strength of it, nor the passages and waies leading therunto.

But in this, for the choyce of their place, me thinks the *New England* men haue bin most too blame; who hauing so many delicate Islands vpon their Coasts, and the most of their relife and profit being from the Sea, might haue bin therein, both secure from the treacherous Saluages; their Swine, Piggis, and other Breed, from the Wwolves; their Come in the ground from the Foxes, which now they be greatly plagued with watching night and day.

In this place, and *Sr. George Colver's* in *New-found-Land*, there are good Foundations for Plantations, Fish (a staple commoditie, by which thing alone, the Hollanders haue ascended as we see, to this height of greatnes) besides Futes, and other things, which may doe well in time. But to speake freely what I thinke of all the Plantations, begun and vndertaken by our Nation, that of *Sr. George Colver's* in *New found-land* (whose forwardnes herein, shewes his loue to his Country) seemes (for many reasons) to stand vpon the best foundation, and to be leueld with the best judgement.

1 For conuenienty and temperance of the Clime, agreeing with this of ours.

2 For the safetie of the Planters, both from inward and outward

*A Discourse of Navigation  
outward Enemie.*

3 For the goodnes of the place , abounding with all things necessary to mans sustentation.

4 For the facilitie of transportation, and supplies of all necessaries.

First, for the Ayre ; it is pleasant, and as temperate in Summer as here : whereas *Virginea* and *Bermudae* are very hot ; whereby *Cawsons* and *Calenwures* doe many times there raine, and adust humors are ingendred; which when Winter comes one, lyes fretting in the veynes , and castt men many times that are improvident for habit , and intemperate in dyer, sometimes enflaming with hot drinke, and *Tobacco*, and streight congealing their bloods ; with colde water powred in after , into *Catarhs* , and distillations, *Schirrosities* of *Spleene* and *Liver*, *Fluxes*, *Scurvies*, *Dropsies*, & the like ; which hath bin the death of so many men, and throwne that indeluble infamy vpon the place, as a second *Golgotha* : and the greatest part of these mischiefs arising for want of Beare.

But none of these neede be feared in *New-found-land*; the Ayre being so temperate, all Summer long, that healthfull men may doe any labour or exercise without danger, aswell as in *England* ; as appeares by Capraine *whibourns* Discourse , who affirms , that of many thousands that were there of severall Nations , he heard not eyther of Man or Boy that was sickle or died : Which proues, that the Ayre of those parts agrees very well with our Countrie and People.

And for the winters, if they shoulde proue a little colder then ours (which notwithstanding is denied by those that haue tryed them) yet hauing wood enough to burne, and good prouision of Beare (which no doubt may bee eyther made, or brought at reasonable rates) besides their bodies

bodies not so much opened, by the heats of a violent Summer: the inconueniences are not so great as those of a lesser winter in *Virginea*. Our People haue their health very well in *Perfia*, in *Sweden*, and *Russia*; but not so well in *Barbary*, in the East-Indies, or vnder the Line.

Now for matter of safety, it is to be preferred before *Virginea*, or *New-England*, by many degrees: they need not feare any Massacre there, for the Saluages are but few vp-on the whole Iland, and those farre enough off the Plantation.

Some 4. or 5. yeares agoe the Vice-Roy of New-Spain caused Ships and men to be made ready, some 6000. Soldiers, which were to meeet as many more men and Shippes at the *Havana*, to haue cut off our Country-men in *Virginea*: and they were vpon their March to *S. Iohn de Vlo*, the Port Towne for *Mexico*, when a Countermand came from the King to stay them. And this relation I received from one Mr. *Fernowithie*, who lived at the same time in *Mexico*, and who is since his retурne home (for his honesty & sufficiency) employed in good place of credit, to the East Indies. But *New-found-land* hath no such cause offearc, it being an I. land severd from the maine; free from all pretence or challenge of any forraigne Prince. For *Sebastion Cabot* discouered this Iland called *New-found-land*, and those Northerly parts of *America*, and tooke possession for the King of *England* the very yeare before *Columbus* discouered to the Southward for the King of *Arragon*: Since which time, it hath bin continued, both by claime & possession: Besides, it is further off their ordinarie course then the rest, and ministres leſſe occasion of jealousie and fuspition. For the objection of Pyrats, it is the least of all other, hauing so good a Fort with Ordinance, and men; besides the comfort of 6. or 7. thousand English all Summer, at their doores. But

much more secure it might be, were those that fish there enioyed to augment their shipping, the least to be 150. tunne, with Ordinance which would be no hindrance to them, but a great safety and strength to themselves, the Planters, and our owne Countrie. Now for the goodnesse of the place, the variety and abundance of sowe, of fish, and other beasts, is reported to bee infinite, and such as may giue th' industrious man an ample recompence. The Planters may in time expect good haruests of Corne, if not of wine, it being in that Paralell that is most fruitfull of these things. Their furrers, and skinnes, are not to be sleighted. Their woods, either for building shippes there, or to be wrought into Wainscot, Deale, Masts or Clap-boarde, and transported; their pitch, and tarre, yron fish, the maine of all the rest, may retурne great profit.

I did liue sometimes vpon the Sea-coast in the Towne and Castle of Scarborough, a place of great strength and importance; and heretofore by former Kings endowed with large priuiledges and Charters, though now of late both Towne and Castle fallen into great decay by too much neglect: I haue heard there (if I forget not,) that a fise man Boat hath vsed to cleare in a Summer 20. pounds a man, or 20. markes. Now if it be so that a Boat which costes not aboue 20. pounds, can cleare in a Summer neare 100. what profit might any Gentleman or monyed man make, that would picke out idic youths, of aboue 20.ycares olde, (of which there are here too many that perish with too much ease) to imploy them there in this manner?

And fourthly, this place and *New-England*, but especially this place, for facility of transporation, wherein it exceeds all the rest; euen for this onely respect and cause, it ought to be preferd.

The passages to the *Bermudas* and *Virgina*, are commonly

monly very dangerous, yet very chargeable, 6. pounds a man; and 2. or 300. in a bottome; so pesterd, that they poyson the ayre, and infect one another: so that many time the fourth or fifth part of them miscarry by the way: but to these places, there is no such charge or danger: for by reason of the many shippes that goe yearly to a fishing thither, they may well be carried at easie, roome enough, 20. or 30. in a bottome, for 30. or 40. shillings the pece, and the course is so safe, that it is strange to heare of any man dying thither, saue those that perish by ship-wrecke: and besides Kyne and other Cattle, either from hence or from the *Aeras*, may be easily transported.

This Plantation may be supplyed with all things, at a much easier rate also, and more certainly then the rest; because the shippes that supply the other Plantations goe purposely for that, and for nothing else, and therefore sell as they please: but there being 2. or 300. ships comming hether yearly for fish, at a constant time, the planter may sell his owne commodities the deare<sup>r</sup>, having so many Chap men, and condition at reasonable rates, for what he needs to be brought yearly.

Becre, Bread, and Baker, are three maine things till the Plantation be settled, and these will be brought thither for 20. or 30. per cwt<sup>m</sup> losse: whereas in *Virginia* they sell them many times at treble the price, to the great oppression and ruyne of the Planters.

These Plantations to the Northwards haue good certaine foundations, fish, furres, and wood, with other things; those to the Southward, promise many good things, but performe in Tobacco.

But the maine thing of all other, is, a wanting in them all, or nos yet discouered; Golde, the splendor and the life of euery action: wherefore if wee would haue this, we

must goe further Southwards acster the Sunne, (which is the husband of all these things) for there indeede is Natures Pallace, and her Throne, where there is the greatest generation , and corruption of creatures , and the greatest abundance , and encrease of all things necessarie to sustentation , as appeares by the breeds of so many millions of Camels , Dromadaries , Elephants , and other great beasts on land, of whom some Elephant , according to Aristotle, lib. 8. Hist. Animal. drinkes at a time 14. Amphorases, and eates at a time 7. bushels of Macedonian measure , besides the abundance of Hippopotamis , Iagartoes , Crokodyles , and huge Tortoyses , enough to depopulate whole Countries here , and bring famine, both by land and water. And as appeares by the great and populous Citties of these Countries , contrarie to the opinion of the Antientes , of Ouid and his g. Zones, vnhabitable for heat : and of Horace in his Odes ,

*Pone sub curru armatus propinquus,  
Salis, in terra domibus negata,*

This therefore was but an errour falsely grounded through their ignorance in Navigation , as it was in that Popewhich Du Plessis cytes , that anathematized his Cardinall , because he held that the world was round , and that there was Antepodes. For where shal one see more plentifull Countries then between the Tropickes ? Mexico, Cufroe & Lyma, in the West; in the East, Agys, Ormuz, Styden, Calicut, Cochyn, Gon, Banshaw, Malacca , a numbers in Pegue and Ciynae, besides those in Affricke. Yet would I not wish any man to be too much enamoured with the gold, and wealth of Affricke, or too confident in the clemencie of that ayre or people, to adventure, either Plantations or long iournays therein: I confess the projects of the Rites ~~sunder~~ very likely, because the Barbarie Moores are knowne to make their

their long annuall iourneys for their gold( which they buy with salt and yron ) through the fandye deserts , by such a course : as appeares by King *Meneses* his relation ( in *Pausanias Iouianus* ) of a Carousan of a thousand ouerwhelmed in the sands , at one time , making their retурne in *Momby* , not in *Mony* : But the coastes of *Africke* haue bin euer helde guiltye of an intemperate ayre , which make so few of ourmen retурne from *Ganyon* , the prime cause of the Spaniards forsaking *Cowgoe* and *Angola* , notwithstanding their gold mines . Therefore this Countrie may be truly called the Lyons denne , *ubi multa sunt vestigia introrsum quod amica, pars retrosum* .

*America* hath without question the most fruitfull , and the most healthfull places that can bee found vnder the Line : the Seas and Riuers full of fish and fowle ; the Lawnes and Forests full of Deere and other beasts ; the Trees euer greene and bearing , the flowers euer smiling , and birds singing ; neuer toucht with Winters cold ; yet most temperate in respect of heat , being compared with dry sandy *Affrica* , or with Sunne-burnt *India* ; which is easily proued by this one example , in that the fresh Lake at *Mexico* , is some times frozen for a night , or so . All which aduantages comming by the benefit of brizes and Leuants , their rai-ning : *Sir Walter Rande* knewe very well when he attempted his *Guyana* busynesse , who err'd in nothing so much ( if a free-man may speake freely ) as in too much confidence in the relations of that Countrie : For who knowes not the policy and cunning of the fat Fryers , whitch is to stirre vp , and animate the Souldiers and Laytie , to the search and inquisition of new Countries , by deuising tales , and Coments in their Cloysters , where they liue at ease , that when others haue taken payne to bring in the haruest , they may feed vpon the best , and fattest of the croppes ?

For my part, I cannot see, by all the relations of that *Manova, or el Dorado*, the golden Cittie, that eyther *Don Antonio de Bherco*, or any other of those 22. unfortunate Gentlemen, great Commanders, that perisht ( they and their Companies) in the attempt of it before him, or *Sir Walter Raleigh* himselfe, who built onely vpon their ruines, had any greater spurrie or motiue to that action, then the Record of certayne Friers in a Monasterie of *SanctaCrenx*, or *Trinidad*, concerning a Soldier, whom they report to haue beeene a Companion in one of those 22. unfortunate iournies for *Guyana* : who there ouerthrowne , and taken Prisoner, should be carried vp all the way blinde-folde , till he came to *el Dorado* it selfe : Where hauing traualled a day or two through this vnparyaled Cittie, before he arrived at the Emperours Pallace; at last brought to the King, and by him (after much ceremonious entertainment) dismiss'd, with great Rewards, and precious things : After many misaduentures by Thieves, at length in his way home, tooke vp his euer-lasting Inne, in this Monasterie ; leauing certaine Gowrdes full of golde Beades, to the Friers, in memoriall of their kindnes, and his owne Perigrination. And for that other supposition of *Guaſcar* his flying over the Mountaines out of *Peru*, at the Report of the treacherie & inhumane cruelty of the *Spaniards*, in the murthering of his Brother , King *Atabalipa* : I beleue well the Storie, but that he shoud so suddainly, in lesse then an age, reare vp such a goulden Cittie : F A M S seemes herein to borrow too large Wings from T I M E, and T R V TH.

That this Country hath both Golde and Siluer Mines, it needes not be doubted (though heere moyst pale-fac'd *Cynthia* more predominates then her bright cheekt Brother ) for how can it otherwise be, the Clime considered ? I beleue also that it may be a place fit for the Foundation of some

Some great worke; but that our English would hane bin  
wonne by any tearmes, or the Saluages compelled by fo-  
ruestled a force, to haue digged & laboured those Mines,  
I can sooner beleue any thing in the Golden Legend.

The Hollanders intend to present you in Brasile, Peru  
and Chylie; and if you must be so conscientious, not to  
meddle with anything where Spain pretends footing: yet  
the South-land, called Terra Australis, affords (no question)  
something worthy of a new discouerie. I make no  
doubt, but that there are in it, both Countryes inhabited,  
and rich Citties. But till the Spaniard haue possesst them  
we shall not beleue it. For we are still incredulous of all  
things, that we are not led to by examples: As those wise  
men that laugh the worthy Columbus to scome (by reason  
of his poore outside) when hee tolde them of the  
rich America. And yet there is nothing more certaine then  
this, that if our Nation had imbrac'd that offer of Columbus,  
our Kingdome had bin by this, the most flourishing that  
euer was.

For what is it else, that hath aduanc'd the poore Kings  
of Portugale and Cassile, to this prodigious greatnessse, to be  
feared of his Neighbours, as he hath bin, but onely these  
new discoueries & Plantations in these rich Countries neer  
the Line? - And yet the English haing the occasions of-  
fered them, stand everdoubtfull to embrase any; as if there  
were danger to become rich against their wills.

The Spaniards would not be very nice, if they knew how  
to seaze any thing of their Neighbours. For the Jesuites  
haue this as a Maximme amoungt them, That whatsoever they  
get from the Heretiques, is not taken away, but restored to the  
right owners.

Men thinckes it shold torment any good minde, to see  
the odoration due to God alone, transformed to Stockes,

*A Discourse of Navigation*

to Stones, to Creatures. To see the stately Temples of *Pag*ue and *Chma*, their outsides all gilt with Golde, their insides adorned with all the curiosities of Art and Nature; but within them, a miserable people, prostrate before vglie monstrous shapes of Beasts and Devils. What a lamentable obiect would it appeare to some, to behould there, the Children of rich Persons, bred vp with the greatest tendernesse and care that may be, yet trained vp onely to these Idolatries? To see the people gorgeous in attyre, stately in behauour, witty in discourse, politique in counfell, franckt and fatted vp with all kinde of delicates, attended on by traines of Seruants, loaden with temporall Dignities and Honours: And yet, notwithstanding all this externall happiness, to runne headlong into eternall miserie.

The concept of it compells the Poet into this passion.

**A** las, how long this Pilgrimage doth last!  
 what greater ills, have yet the Heavens in store,  
 That cupple-cumming harmes, with sorrowes past?  
 Long since my voyce is boarfe, my throat is sore,  
 with cryes to thi' Skyes, and curses to the ground.  
 But more I playne, I finde my grefes the more.  
 O! where was first that costly cumming found,  
 To frame of Earth, a Vessel to the minde,  
 where is shoulde be to selfe destruktions bound?  
 what needed so High Spirits, come mortall blinde?  
 Or trapte in Clay, what doe they here obtaine,  
 But glorous Names of wretched Humane kinde?  
 Ball's to the Starres, and Thralls to Fortunes rayne:  
 Turnid from themselves, infested with their cage:  
 where Death is feared, though Life be held with paine.

Like Players, plac'd to fill a filshie stage;  
 where change of thought each foode to other flower ;  
 And all but toyes, same onely Sorowes rage.

What a miserie is it , that our men hauing Traded thither this xx. yeares, haue scarce in all this time made a Prophete to our Religion ? Mee thinkes a holy zeale should enflame the mindes of all religious Princes , to endeaour the reformation of so great dishonour to God , and destruction to men , by labouring to reduce them to the right.

There be in the East-Indies a number of delicate Ilands, where the people are Idolaters, or Mahumetans ; but the most of them worship Idols , Devils, Apes, Oxen , Kyne, Crokadyles, Serpents ; as in Japan, both the Iauas, and the most fruitfull of all the rest, Ceylon ( holden by some to bee Ophyr and Paradise ) they worship with religious and divine adoration, an Apes Tooth ; to which all the neighboring Nations comes a Pilgrimage.

Me thinkes so good places , should not bee proper to so bad people. I would be glad to learne why our men shoud haue lessc right to these mons Countries , then to the Virginians.

The Spaniards would easily proue the theirs by Scripture, if they had possession by the sword. But the times are changed with the within this 20. years, since the English & Dutch got the maistrie now , hauing more then enough to doe to defende themselves. They were wont to Lord it heretofore in great state : the meanest in their Palamkeens , counting all others but their slaves, and styling their Kings Emperours of the Orientall Indies : and yet hee bouldes onely some fewe Forts and Ilands therein , gotten from the na-

tues by force or policy, and so odious they be to the people for their many treacheries, that the Kings of those Countries, are said to exact in some places of them 30. per centum of all trade and marchandise; they paying before our faces, where notwithstanding our men goe free without paying, eva before them.

We may beleue if the Hollanders settle their West-Indian trade, as they haue begunne, they will shortly finde as little fauour there too.

This is certaine, that there is nothing in the world so needfull of their new Leitanie, as this; that those whom they haue iniured, may take any other course, rather then the Sea, for their satisfaction; yea rather fall vpon any Province he hath, though after many yeares competition he loose it, rather then to attempt his *West-Indies*, ioynthly at one time with the Hollanders. For they haue good cause to remember, how they were baited in the Queenes time: there being never leſſe then 200. sayle of voluntaries and others, vpon their coaſtes. But ſuch is the pouertie and neceſſitie of the time, that in all mens opinions, there would be twice as many as was then. And they knowe very well, how much his Maiesties power is augmented, by enioying *Ireland* peaceably, and the annexion of *Scotland*, the affinitie of *Denmarke*, and the loue of *Sweatland*, which all ioyned in a willing endeavour, with the affiſtance of *Holland*, and the *Hanse Townes*, whether other Allyes contineſt constant or not (as there be 20. examples out of *Graiceland* and others, to beget diſſidence) yet theſe in any ſuch deſigne, commanding the Sea, might extremely endanger his Ilands and *American* Estates, because there could not be ſent thither new ſuppliment and releeſe without interception.

It is well knowne how little they haue loſt at Land to  
the

the French ( whose Forces are therein thought so great ) after long warres , or to any other , to the Turke himselfe.

They may not veroworthily be accounted good ; Chess-players indeed , where one Knight or Bishop can so well releeue another , one Duke another , one Pawne another , so long as he holds good the passage , giving checke , and mate for mate , will all grow weary ; but there is one way where if they loose a Mate , they goe straight to the bagge .

There bee many examples to shew the long doubtfull dependance of these militarie playes , in God Mars his Court , with the variety and infabilitie of Fortune . I will make boulde to shew 2. or 3. and so end .

1. The first , betweene the French and Spaniards in Italy , where notwithstanding the fortunate journey of Charles the eighth , who might truely lay like Cesar , Vixi , vidi , vici , Overwhelming the Spaniards in Naples like a Torrent , yet when this sudden Rorne was laid , they lost all againe ; and Lewes the 12. did as little .

For after many various changes of Fortune , after many thousands had lost their lives about it ; the Spaniards by a tricke , houlding the French in hand with the treaty of Marriage for Charles the fifth , and Madam *Savoy* ( which was afterward solemnized at Bloyes ) tooke aduantage of the French suspecting no such matter , and recouered all againe , by defeating 2. French Armies at one time ; one in *Calabria* , led by the Lord *d'Aubigny* , the other at *Cernigale* , led by the Duke *de Nemours* .

2. The second , is of the French and English , where the successse of the English for many yeares , is justly to be admired , and wondred at the goddesse Victoria , seeming to be wedded to their Ensignes , riding through France at their pleasure , doing what they listed , Crowning their Kings there ; houlding their Courts in *Bordeaux*

deau and in *Paris*; yet after all this felicitie of Fortune, gotten in so many pitcht fields; *Cressay*, *Poictiers*, *Agincourt*, by the blood of so many French Dukes, Earles, Barons, and so many thousands Knights: and which was not lost againe, but by a great many English mens, that they should not now houldc one foote therein.

Who can but admire? who can but iustly doubt this vicissitude of Fortune, when hee consideris the equitie of their cause?

3. The third and last, is the rebellion of the *Gantboye* against their naturall Prince, the Earle of *Flanders*, which though it seemes not so pertinent, yet I make bould to annex for some things therin remarkable.

1. In the long resistance of one City against so great a Prince.

2. In the vicissitude & many various changes of Fortune.

3. In the inconstancie of the peoples affections, euer warping to the stronger side.

For after the *Gantboye* had murthered the Earles, Baylifs, (being the Magistrates of Justice) for crossing them in some proceedings, or some auntient customes of their Towne; they appointed Commanders ouer their people, which were many in the beginning of the warre, the Towne being able to make to the field 100000. men, with which Forces they ouerthrew their Prince once or twice in plaine Bataile, tooke away his revenues, compel'd him to liue for a long time vpon almes (as it were) and benevolence of friends, and Lorded it for a long season, till afterwards, receiuing succour from his Cosine the French King, he encountered them againe with better successse, and ouerthrew, & slew a great many of them, whereby they became a great deale more reasonable, and began to thinke of submission & to seeke for mercy, which by mediation of friends,

the

the Earle was drawne to accept, vpon condicion, that so many of the chiefe Citizens, should come like offenders, and humble themselues to his mercie.

So farre this Treaty past, that it was welnigh come to a conclusion; while some of the chiefe Ring leaders of the sedition (*Philip Dartwick, and Peter de Boys*) perceiving that this agreement would proue fatall to them; vied the means by killing some of the Commissioners, and by false suggestions, misleading the towne, to breake off all further treaty of Peace; incensing (farre worse then euer) their Prince, by new Rebellions; spoylng his lands and houses, till by new assistance from his kindred and Allyes, he came against them with a great Puissance, and in a manner besieged them; building Sconces vpon their waies, intercepting all reliefe; by which means he brought the in time to extreme famine: Himselfe keeping his Court at *Bruges* the while, in great State, and retaining an Armie of 40. thousand men, to waite the euent. Now to free themselues from this misery, the *Gambyses* that were left alive (some 8000. hunger-starv'd wretches) resolued to venture forth into the Country, eyther to get relief for themselues, Wiues, and Children, or to dye manfully in the field. And for this end, deviding themselues into two Squadrons, or Battalions of 4000. parted themselves into two waies, to seeke their fortune. Now, no sooner heard the Earle, that the miserable *Gambyses* were abroade, but he calls forth his Army in all hast, and goes presently to fiade them out; which done, he as suddainly (without any good order or array) sets vpon them, presuming that he might with small adoe, cut off these 4000. hunger-starued men: But he found it otherwise then he reck'ned (though he reck'ned not without his Hoast) for the *Gambyses* being desperate, and knowing no safety but in Victory, fought it out with such pertinacy,

that they overthrew the Earle, notwithstanding his Army of 40. thousand, chased and dispersed them, pursued the Earle into Bruges, entered with him, made good the Market place, and from thence the whole Towne : compelling this great Prince to flee for his life from house to house, and at last, by night into a poore Widowes, nere the town Wall : Where vnder her poore Bed, he hid and contended himselfe, till she found meanes with Ropes to let him down ouer the wall, in a great tub or kinlin : by which poore meanes he got ouer the Towne Ditch, and from thence upon a bare Horse-backe, escaped away to safery ; and from thence repaiting with all speed to the French Court for succour ; where he arriued in a happy time : For his Cousin the French King, hauing then newly rid his Countrey of all the English, had leuyure to syde his Cousin of Flanders with all his puissance, an Army of 200. thousand men. Now while this was in preparing, in the meane time, the *Gambyses*, that were but etc while the most miserable living, became suddenly the most honour'd: happy were they that flood in best grace with them. All the Townes, saue *Anwerp*, sent in their Keyes. All made a constaunce League with the *Gambyses*. Who was then so braue a man as *Phillip Darnell*, a Elony-mans Sonne of *Gante*? Hoe went and besiegged *Anwerp* with 100. thousand men, and so long continued, till the King of *France* came and gaue him battaile, and overthrew the *Flemmings*, restoring his Cousin to his Principalitie, and Inheritance : Who afterwards sore punished the Rebells ; and in a manner, destroyed their Towne : which suffers for that fault, evn to this day.

Now, if one Cittie had the power to doe all this, What might many Countries, with many such ? I leave the application to those which understand, returning to the Sea ; and

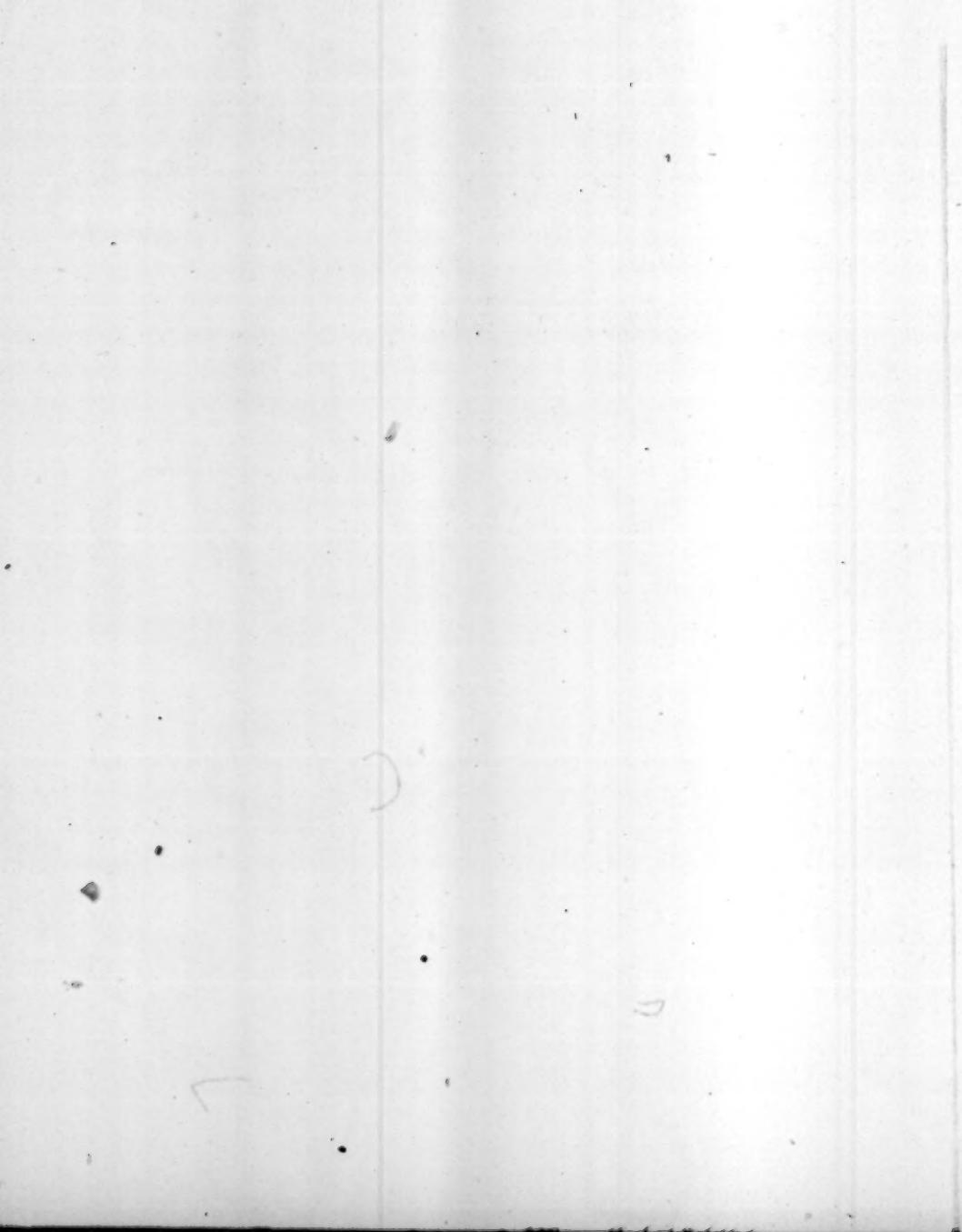
and affirming, that if euer it were fit to marry *These* with a Ring tis now ; because she seemes to haue aduantage of the Lands ; in these two thinges , SOVERAIGNTIE and VICTORIA.

For a puissant Army of 40. thousand men (the charge whereof will amount to a million per annum) can but (at one time) distress one Kingdome or Prouince ; but an Nauie and Land forces, which may be set forth at halfe that charge, will compell any Enemy, who hath many Islands far distante & remote one from another, many Prouinces much disuited; and those not to be relieved, or reskewed, but by Sea, to stand stil vpon his guard in al places, not knowing where to expe& this Nanall Force ; and though he be compelled to be at ten times more charge , in such case of defence then these are in the offensive : Yet shall hee bee ever loosing , and the Warre maintained at his proper costs and Charges.

---

FINIS.

---



**REPRODUCED FROM THE COPY IN THE**  
**HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY**

**FOR REFERENCE ONLY. NOT FOR REPRODUCTION**